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THE IMPERATIVE MORPHEME IN SERI

Stephen A. Marlett

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0. There are several allomorphs of the morpheme indicating second person imperative and several of the morpheme indicating first person imperative in Seri.¹ Since these allomorphs are for the most part suppletive in each case, it is necessary to posit two multi-clause spelling rules to account for them. In this paper I will present evidence for the analysis I have adopted which to the best of my knowledge accounts for all of the second person and first person imperatives in Seri.²

1. The structure of the second person imperative is as follows:

(3 ref) (1 sing obj) imperative (neg) (ca) $\left(\begin{matrix} \text{pass} \\ \text{intr} \end{matrix} \right)$ verb

The morpheme for third person referent in imperatives is spelled /ko-/ when it precedes either a short low vowel or a consonant cluster of which the first consonant is k, ʔ, or a nasal, and /kʷ-/ elsewhere. The surface allomorph /kʷ-/ is derived from the latter by an allophonic rule.³

The morpheme for first person singular direct object in imperatives is spelled /ʔpo-/, the vowel of which often deletes by regular morphophonemic rules.⁴ Second person objects of the imperative are apparently never pronominal in Seri. For example, *Hit yourself!* is ʔipi mɪssoox iʔnɪp; literally, *Hit your own being!*. The third person pronominal direct object of the imperative is expressed by a zero morpheme.

The negative morpheme is /-m-/. The causative morpheme has three suppletive allomorphs: /-a-/, /-aʔ-/, and /-ak-/. The passive morpheme has four suppletive allomorphs: /-ʔ-/, /-aʔ-/, /-po-/, and /-p-/. Discussion of these important morphemes must be reserved for later.

The intransitive marker, used only with the intransitive form of those

verbs that may be used transitively or intransitively is /-o-/.⁵
[+D]

If the direct object is indicated by a noun, the noun precedes the verb as shown in example (1).

- (1) m-ŋo-pmox ki? k-aššiiχ //
[2 poss]-nom-[gather firewood] the imp-cut

Cut your firewood!

If a first person indirect object is indicated, a referent pronoun immediately precedes the verbs just as in expressions in the indicative mood. This is illustrated in example (2).

- (2) ?áχ pak ?e ?-áas //
water some [1 ref] imp-[give to drink]

Give me some water to drink!

If a third person indirect object is indicated, the third person referent prefix is used and the noun, if expressed, precedes the verb but may either precede or follow the direct object. This is shown in examples (3) and (4).

- (3) šixkám ki? sáaʔa ki? kóo-mxk //
fish the Sarah the [(3 ref)=imp]-take/bring

Take the fish to Sarah!

- (4) sáaŋa ki? ʔáχ pak kw-ʔ-áas //
Sarah the water some [3 ref]-imp-[give to drink]

Give Sarah some water to drink!

The order of direct object and indirect object is also optional in the indicative mood.

As for its usage, the second person imperative is usually repeated if it is not preceded by a clause, adverb or object. The following examples illustrate this.

- (5) k-áttaax // k-áttaax // á-??iit-im //
imp-go imp-go [imp=intr]-eat-rep

Go! Go! Eat!, i.e., Get eating!

- (6) po-yáam ta / k-ǎššiix //
DF-[be later] SCF imp-cut

Cut it later!

- (7) mišx ʔ-áai //
well imp-do

Take care of it!

- (8) mos šo ʔ-éχ+ //
again one imp-take

Take another one!

- (9) ʔ-éχ+ // ʔ-éχ+ //
imp-take imp-take

Take it! Take it!

A milder command form consists of the inflected future tense form of the verb, as shown in example (10).⁶

- (10) in-s-éχ+-aʔa //
[2 sub]-fut-take-TM

You should buy it!

2. The structure of the first person imperative is the same as that of the second person imperative. It never has a first person singular object and is always plural.

A special rule is needed to move the negative morpheme to follow the first segment of the first person imperative morpheme. Imperatives that illustrate this are included in section 5.

The use of the first person imperative is similar to the use of the second person imperative except that the first person imperative is not usually repeated.

3. Of the numerous morphophonemic rules proposed for the analysis of Seri verbs, several are particularly pertinent to the analysis of the imperatives. These rules are given below without further explanation. Also included are two allophonic rules--W Coalescence and Nasal/Vowel Coalescence. Unless otherwise indicated, each rule has the word as its domain.

Stress Placement: Unless otherwise marked, stress the first vowel of the verb stem.

Vowel Coalescence

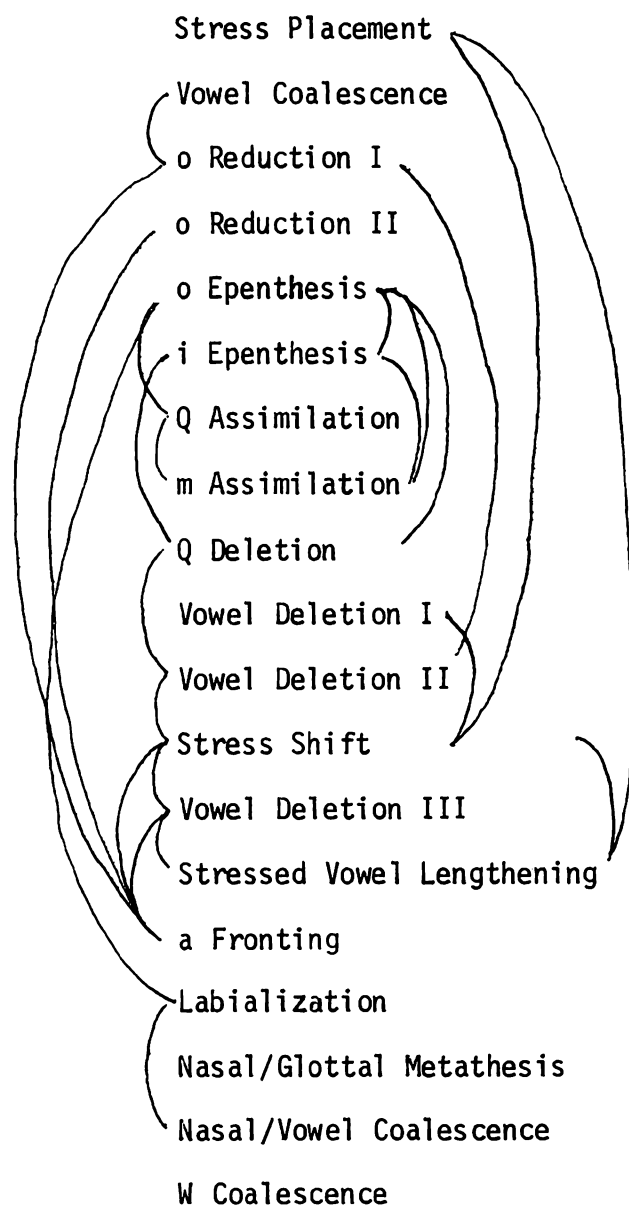
$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ \begin{bmatrix} -lo \\ +bac \\ +D \end{bmatrix} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} V \\ \begin{bmatrix} -lo \\ -bac \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \Rightarrow \begin{array}{c} V \\ \begin{bmatrix} +lo \\ -bac \\ -long \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{(the resultant vowel is} \\ \text{marked to not undergo} \\ \text{Stressed Vowel Length-} \\ \text{ening)} \end{array}$$

- o Reduction I
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \end{matrix} \Rightarrow \begin{matrix} V \\ [+lo] \\ [+bac] \\ [-long] \end{matrix} / \text{the verb is intransitive.}$$

 ~ (the resultant vowel is marked to not undergo Stressed Vowel Lengthening)
- o Reduction II
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \\ [+D] \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \end{matrix} \Rightarrow \begin{matrix} V \\ [+lo] \\ [+bac] \\ [-long] \end{matrix}$$
- o Epenthesis
$$\emptyset \rightarrow o / \begin{matrix} C \\ [-nas] \\ [-glot] \\ [-lab] \end{matrix} \text{ --- } \begin{matrix} C \\ [+nas] \end{matrix} C$$
- i Epenthesis
$$\emptyset \rightarrow i / \left\{ \begin{matrix} C\# \\ C \\ [-nas] \\ [-glot] \\ \& \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ --- } \begin{matrix} C \\ [-obs] \\ [+clos] \end{matrix} C \quad (\text{left to right iterative})$$
- Q Assimilation
$$Q \rightarrow \begin{matrix} C \\ [\alpha F] \end{matrix} / \begin{matrix} C \\ [-glot] \\ [\alpha F] \end{matrix} \text{ ---}$$
- m Assimilation
$$\begin{matrix} [+nas] \\ [+lab] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} [-lab] \\ [\alpha acu] \end{matrix} / \begin{matrix} V \\ [-str] \end{matrix} \text{ --- } \begin{matrix} C \\ [-lab] \\ [\alpha acu] \end{matrix} \text{ Pause-bounded}$$
- Q Deletion
$$Q \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ ? \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ ---}$$
- Vowel Deletion I
$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ --- } + \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [-long] \\ V \\ [+D] \end{matrix} \right\}$$
- Vowel Deletion II
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-str] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ --- } + \begin{matrix} V \\ [+long] \end{matrix}$$
- Stress Shift
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \\ 1 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \\ 2 \end{matrix} \Rightarrow \begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \\ 1 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \\ 2 \end{matrix} / \text{ --- } // \begin{matrix} V \\ 1 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} V \\ 2 \end{matrix}$$
- Vowel Deletion III
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-str] \\ [+lo] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{matrix} V \\ [-[+D]] \end{matrix} + \text{ ---}$$
- Stressed Vowel Lengthening
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \end{matrix} \rightarrow [+long] / \text{ --- } + C$$
- a Fronting
$$a \rightarrow e / \text{ --- } + (C) \begin{matrix} e \\ [-str] \end{matrix}$$

Labialization	$k \rightarrow k^w / \text{---} m$
Nasal/Glottal Metathesis	$m \text{ ? } \Rightarrow \text{ ? } m$ $1 \ 2 \quad 2 \ 1$
Nasal/Vowel Coalescence	$m \ V \Rightarrow \emptyset \quad V / k^w \text{---} \text{Pause-bounded}$ $1 \ 2 \quad \quad \quad 2 \quad \quad \quad [+nas]$
W Coalescence	$\begin{matrix} C & W \\ [+bac] & \end{matrix} \Rightarrow \begin{matrix} C & \emptyset \\ [+bac] & [+lab] \end{matrix} / \text{---} [-cns]$ $1 \quad 2 \quad \quad \quad 1$

The ordering of these rules is indicated below.



4. The following spelling rule gives the underlying forms of the allomorphs of the morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE.

SECOND PERSON \Rightarrow \emptyset / 1 SING OBJ —
 IMPERATIVE
 k / — NEGATIVE
 \emptyset / 3 REF — $\begin{matrix} V \\ [+1o] \\ -long \\ -[+D] \end{matrix}$
 k / — $\begin{matrix} V \\ [+1o] \\ -long \\ -[+D] \end{matrix}$
 o / — $\left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ [-1o] \\ +bac \\ V \\ [+1o] \end{matrix} \right\}$ and the verb is intransitive
 $?$ / elsewhere

The ordering of the clauses of this spelling rule is crucial. The evidence for and explanation of each clause are presented in the following sections.

4.1. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-Ø-/ when it is preceded by the morpheme FIRST PERSON SINGULAR OBJECT. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form⁷</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
i?póokta	?po-Ø-ookta [1 obj]-imp-[look at]	<i>Look at me!</i>
i?póoktam	?po-Ø-ooktam [1 obj]-imp-[(look at)=pl]	<i>Look (pl.) at me!</i>
i?pomóokta	?po-Ø-m-ookta [1 obj]-imp-neg-[look at]	<i>Don't look at me!</i>
i?pomáxpχ	?po-Ø-m-áxpχ [1 obj]-imp-neg-[be mad at]	<i>Don't be mad at me!, i.e., Forgive me!</i>
i?píipxk	?po-Ø-iipxk [1 obj]-imp-wrestle	<i>Wrestle me!</i>
i?pakáitom	?po-Ø-ak-aitom [1 obj]-imp-ca-talk	<i>Interpret for me!</i>
i?póošť	?po-Ø-ašť [1 obj]-imp-tattoo	<i>Tattoo me!</i>
i?pokéeeχ	?po-Ø-keeex [1 obj]-imp-[cut hair]	<i>Cut my hair!</i>
i?posánx	?po-Ø-sanx [1 obj]-imp-[carry on back]	<i>Carry me on your back!</i>
i?posákx	?po-Ø-sakx [1 obj]-imp-[carry on hip]	<i>Carry me on your hip!</i>

Notice the following example which has a first person plural direct object. The form ?aši is the form used in indicative phrases also.

- (11) ?aši ?-óoktam //
[1 pl obj] imp-[(look at)=pl]

Look (pl.) at us!

4.2. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-k-/ when followed by the morpheme NEGATIVE. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kwáttaaχ	k-m-attaax imp-neg-go	<i>Don't go!</i>
kontís	k-m-tis imp-neg-point	<i>Don't point at him/it!</i>
kwótís	k-m-o-tis imp-neg-intr-point	<i>Don't point!</i>
kwíχW	k-m-iχW imp-neg-jump	<i>Don't jump across it!</i>
kwéexχW	k-m-o-iχW imp-neg-intr-jump	<i>Don't jump!</i>
kwápmox	k-m-apmox imp-neg-[gather firewood]	<i>Don't gather that firewood!</i>
kwóqpmox	k-m-o-apmox imp-neg-intr-[gather firewood]	<i>Don't gather fire- wood!</i>
konjkóos	k-m-koos imp-neg-forget	<i>Don't forget it!</i>
konníp	k-m-nip imp-neg-[hit with hand]	<i>Don't hit him/it!</i>
kwákáiskan	k-m-ak-aiskan imp-neg-ca-[be hard]	<i>Don't shut it!</i>
kommó+χ	k-m-Qó+χ imp-neg-[argue=pl]	<i>Don't argue (pl.)!</i>
an kokwáškim	an ko-k-m-aškim in [3 ref]-imp-neg-enter	<i>Don't enter!</i>
kokwíta+?áa	ko-k-m-ita+?áa [3 ref]-imp-neg-exchange	<i>Don't sell it!</i>
mokámma	mo-k-ámma dir-imp-[move=neg]	<i>Don't come!</i>
míissaaχ ko?méemt ⁸	mi-assaax k-m-?eemt [2 poss]-spirit imp-neg-stink	<i>Don't be mad!</i>

4.3. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-Ø-/ when it is preceded by the morpheme THIRD PERSON REFERENT and followed by an unmarked short low vowel.⁹ Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sáaʔa kiʔ kóomxk	sáaʔa kiʔ ko-Ø-amxk Sara the [3 ref]-imp-take	<i>Take it to Sara!</i>
an kóoškim	an ko-Ø-aškim in [3 ref]-imp-enter	<i>Come in!</i>
kóokka	ko-Ø-akka [3 ref]-imp-[pour in]	<i>Pour it in!</i>
ʔóʔʔa kóottaax	ʔóʔʔa ko-attaax donkey [3 ref]-go	<i>Go like a donkey!</i>

The above spelling rule holds true for an undefined group of Seri speakers. Others, and perhaps a majority, apparently do not have the condition in this spelling rule that the short low vowel be unmarked. In other words, the morpheme IMPERATIVE is spelled /-Ø-/ when it is preceded by the morpheme THIRD PERSON REFERENT and followed by any short low vowel. The examples below illustrate the differences in the imperative forms between these groups of speakers. Examples (12) and (13) are formed according to the spelling rule given first above, (12') and (13') according to the second version of that rule. Because the causative morpheme and the first vowel of the verb *believe* are marked vowels (they are marked to not undergo deletion), the speakers who use the forms in (12) and (13) must use the allomorph /-ʔ-/ of the imperative morpheme (described in section 4.6.).

(12) ʔíitom ak kʷaʔaʔíiʔx // *Believe (pl.) what I say!*

UF: ʔi-Ø-aitom ak kʷ-ʔ-aʔíiʔx
[1 poss]-nom-talk the [3 ref]-imp-[believe=pl]

(12') ʔíitom ak kʷaʔíiʔx // *Believe (pl.) what I say!*

UF: ʔi-Ø-aitom ak kʷ-Ø-aʔíiʔx
[1 poss]-nom-talk the [3 ref]-imp-[believe=pl]

(13) kʷʔakóoššiixot *Help him out!*

UF: kʷ-ʔ-ak-o-aššiix-ot
[3 ref]-imp-ca-intr-cut-ben

(13') kʷakóoššiixot *Help him out!*

UF: kʷ-Ø-ak-o-aššiix-ot
[3 ref]-imp-ca-intr-cut-ben

4.4. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-k-/ when it is followed by an unmarked short low vowel. If the imperative morpheme is preceded by THIRD PERSON REFERENT, it has already been spelled as indicated in section 4.3. Examples of forms explained by this clause of the spelling rule are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
káttaaχ	k-attaax imp-go	<i>Go!</i>
káiiito+ka	k-aiiito+ka imp-[eat=pl=iter]	<i>Eat (pl.) them (iter.)!</i>
kée ¹⁰	k-ee imp-give	<i>Give it!</i>
káa+ ¹¹	k-aaa+ imp-[do as ordered]	<i>Do what you have been ordered to do!</i>
kámχk	k-amχk imp-bring	<i>Bring it!</i>
kámW ¹²	k-amW imp-hunt	<i>Hunt it!, or Hunt!</i>
káom ¹³	k-aom imp-beg	<i>Beg for it!</i>
kápχk	k-apχk imp-[wear around neck]	<i>Wear it around your neck!</i>
kápχmox	k-apχmox imp-[gather firewood]	<i>Gather that firewood!</i>
kémmeen	k-emmeen imp-winnow	<i>Winnow it!</i>
kápχox	k-apχox imp-[blow on]	<i>Blow on it!</i>
kápχo+im	k-apχo+-tim imp-[blow on]-iter	<i>Blow on it/them (iter.)!</i>
kápχo+	k-apχo+ imp-[(blow on)=pl]	<i>Blow (pl.) on it!</i>
kápχo+am	k-apχo+-am imp-[(blow on)=pl]-iter	<i>Blow (pl.) on them (iter.)!</i>
ʔe káškam	ʔe k-aškam [1 ref] imp-[come=pl]	<i>Come (pl.) to me!</i>

4.5. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-o-/ when it is followed by either a long or short o, a long low vowel, or a short low vowel that is marked to not delete and the verb is intransitive. This is an abstract morpheme because it either undergoes o Reduction and possible a Fronting subsequently, or else it is deleted by a later rule. These rules are well substantiated by unrelated data. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
áit	o-oit imp-dance	<i>Dance!</i>
axást	o-oxást imp-hop	<i>Hop!</i>
áttii+kox	o-ottii+kox imp-[arise=pl]	<i>Arise (pl.)!</i>
ás	o-oos imp-sing	<i>Sing!</i>
éepχ	o-oepχ imp-flap	<i>Flap!</i>
étteexa	o-otteexa imp-stagger	<i>Stagger!</i>
an kwáiškt	an kW-o-oiškt in [3 ref]-imp-enter	<i>Come in (pl.)!</i>
éenx	o-o-inx imp-intr-shout	<i>Shout!</i>
éenx	o-o-Queenx imp-intr-[play instrument]	<i>Play (instrument)!</i>
aśánx	o-o-sanx imp-intr-[carry on back]	<i>Carry him on your back!</i>
áp̄mox	o-o-ap̄mox imp-intr-[gather firewood]	<i>Gather firewood!</i>
áap̄šχ	o-aap̄šχ imp-[be fast]	<i>Be fast!</i>
ákkaat	o-akkaat imp-swim	<i>Swim!</i>
áom	o-aom imp-beg	<i>Beg!</i>
áa??iit	o-a-a??iit imp-ca-eat	<i>Fish!</i>

4.6. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-ʔ-/ elsewhere. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ʔitámt	ʔ-i-tamt imp-with-sandal	<i>Put on your sandals!</i>
ʔíʔt	ʔ-iʔt imp-hiccough	<i>Hiccough!</i>
ʔíim	ʔ-iim imp-sleep	<i>Sleep!</i>
kWʔíipni	kW-ʔ-íipni [3 ref]-imp-sip	<i>Sip!</i>
ʔóokta	ʔ-ookta imp-[look at]	<i>Look at it!</i>
ʔóont	ʔ-oon+ imp-stir	<i>Stir it!</i>
ʔáaa	ʔ-aaa imp-call	<i>Call it!</i>
ʔáai	ʔ-aa i imp-do/make	<i>Do it!, or Make it!</i>
ʔáašši	ʔ-aašši imp-[carry away]	<i>Carry it away!</i>
ʔáχ kWʔáas	ʔáχ kW-ʔ-aas water [3 ref]-imp-[give to drink]	<i>Give him water to drink!</i>
kWʔita+ʔáa	kW-ʔ-ita+ʔáa [3 ref]-imp-exchange	<i>Sell it!</i>
ʔéetteex	ʔ-eetteex imp-peel	<i>Peel it!</i>
ʔaʔóit	ʔ-aʔ-oi+ imp-ca-[be blue]	<i>Make it blue!</i>
iʔpánšχ	ʔ-panšχ imp-run	<i>Run!</i>
iʔpíi	ʔ-píi imp-taste	<i>Taste it!</i>
óχ ʔapákta	óχ ʔ-a-po-ookta thus imp-ca-pass-[look at]	<i>Do it like that!</i>

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
iʔmái	ʔ-mai imp-[be quiet]	<i>Be quiet!</i>
iʔkómka	ʔ-komka imp-[make noise]	<i>Make noise!</i>
iʔkóox̣a	ʔ-koox̣a imp-babysit	<i>Babysit him!</i>
iʔkáa	ʔ-kaa imp-[look for]	<i>Look for it!</i>
iʔšxók	ʔ-šxok imp-[hack off]	<i>Hack it off!</i>
iʔxó+kW	ʔ-xo+kW imp-sip	<i>Sip it!</i>
iʔótš ¹⁴	ʔ-Qotš imp-suck	<i>Suck it!</i>
iʔíššo	ʔ-Qíššo imp-lift	<i>Lift it!</i>
móʔʔa	mo-ʔ-a dir-imp-move	<i>Come here!</i>
kWʔakóoššiixot	kW-ʔ-ak-o-aššiix-ot [3 ref]-imp-ca-intr-cut-ben	<i>Help him cut!</i>
koʔxíit	ko-ʔ-xiit [3 ref]-imp-[hit with stone]	<i>Hit him (with a stone)!</i>
koʔmíiit	ko-ʔ-miit [3 ref]-imp-ask	<i>Ask him it!</i>
ʔíiʔʔe ¹⁵	ʔiiʔʔe [imp=give]	<i>Give it!</i>
koʔáxš	ko-ʔ-Qáxš [3 ref]-imp-[hit with stick]	<i>Hit it (with a stick)!</i>

5. The following spelling rule gives the underlying forms of the allomorphs of the morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE.

FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE ⇒ so / — V and the verb is transitive
[-]o

sa / elsewhere and the verb is transitive

ska / elsewhere

The evidence for and explanation of each clause are presented in the following sections.

5.1. The morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-so-/ when
[+D]
it is followed by a transitive verb that begins with a high vowel.
Later rules coalesce and sometimes front and/or lengthen the prefix and
stem vowels. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sašít	so-šít imp-[visit=pl]	<i>Let's visit him!</i>
sáaktam	so-ooktam imp-[(look at)=pl]	<i>Let's look at it!</i>
séee	so-iii imp-[hear=pl]	<i>Let's hear it!</i>
séenneck	so-oonneck imp-[carry=pl]	<i>Let's carry them (several items)!</i>
séemmoosam ¹⁶	so-immoos-am imp-[beg=pl]-iter	<i>Let's beg for it!</i>
smáaktam	so-m-ooktam imp-neg-[(look at)=pl]	<i>Let's not look at it!</i>

5.2. The morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-sa-/ before other transitive verbs. The a of the prefix or stem is deleted by regular morphophonemic rules in many cases.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sayáat	sa-yaat imp-[own/have=pl]	<i>Let's own/have it!</i>
sakéept	sa-keep imp-[like=pl]	<i>Let's like it!</i>
samístax	sa-mistax imp-[resemble=pl]	<i>Let's resemble it!</i>
saskóoyo	sa-skooyo imp-[smell=pl]	<i>Let's smell it!</i>
sapkóoyo	sa-pkooyo imp-[taste=pl]	<i>Let's taste it!</i>
sásyox	sa-asyox imp-[drink=pl]	<i>Let's drink it!</i>
sáʔt	sa-aʔt imp-[see=pl]	<i>Let's see it!</i>
sáax ¹⁷	sa-aax imp-[know=pl]	<i>Let's know it!</i>
sákwt	sa-akwt imp-[kill=pl]	<i>Let's kill it!</i>
sáiši	sa-aishi imp-[make/do=pl]	<i>Let's do/make it!</i>
sámχox	sa-amχox imp-[say=pl]	<i>Let's say it!</i>
sássoot	sa-assoot imp-[borrow=pl]	<i>Let's borrow it!</i>
kwsatóos	kW-sa-atóos [3 ref]-imp-[(give to drink)]	<i>Let's give it to him to drink!</i>
sáššiaxk	sa-aššiaxk imp-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's cut it!</i>
smáššiaxk	sa-m-aššiaxk imp-neg-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's not cut it!</i>

5.3. The morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-ska-/ before intransitive verbs. The a of the prefix or stem is deleted by regular morphophonemic rules in many cases.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
skatóii	ska-atóii imp-[cry=pl]	<i>Let's cry!</i>
skatí k pan	ska-atí k pan imp-[work=pl]	<i>Let's work!</i>
skáipt	ska-a-ipt imp-ca-[exchange=pl]	<i>Let's pay!</i>
skitóix	ska-itóix imp-[go=pl]	<i>Let's go...!</i>
skáat x	ska-aat x imp-[go=pl]	<i>Let's go!</i>
skáato+ka	ska-aato+ka imp-[fight=pl]	<i>Let's fight!</i>
kWskita+ʔáaw	kW-ska-ita+ʔáa [3 ref]-imp-[exchange=pl]	<i>Let's sell!</i>
skáanniipxat	ska-aanniipxat imp-[(go home)=pl]	<i>Let's go home!</i>
skímmoosam ¹⁶	ska-immoos-am imp-[beg=pl]-iter	<i>Let's beg!</i>
ʔant skóii	ʔant ska-oii down imp-[stand=pl]	<i>Let's get down!</i>
skíima	ska-iima imp-[sleep=pl]	<i>Let's sleep!</i>
skóšša	ska-ošša imp-[talk=pl]	<i>Let's talk!</i>
skóiiito+ka	ska-o-aiito+ka imp-intr-[eat=pl]	<i>Let's eat!</i>
skósyox	ska-o-asyox imp-intr-[drink=pl]	<i>Let's drink!</i>
skóoššiaxk	ska-o-aššiaxk imp-intr-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's cut!</i>
skamá i x	ska-má i x imp-[(be quiet)=pl]	<i>Let's be quiet!</i>

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
skapánkox	ska-pankox imp-[run=pl]	<i>Let's run!</i>
skakáptox	ska-kaptox imp-[fly=pl]	<i>Let's fly!</i>
skakómxox	ska-komxox imp-[(be noisy)=pl]	<i>Let's be noisy!</i>
skamošímtox	ska-mošímtox imp-[(be drunk)=pl]	<i>Let's be drunk!</i>
skaó+χ	ska-Qo+χ imp-[argue=pl]	<i>Let's argue!</i>
soŋkóoššiaxk	ska-m-o-aššiaxk imp-neg-intr-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's not cut!</i>
soŋkaó+χ	ska-m-Qo+χ imp-neg-[argue=pl]	<i>Let's not argue!</i>
soŋkat íkpan	ska-m-at íkpan imp-neg-[work=pl]	<i>Let's not work!</i>

FOOTNOTES

¹Number of subject person and the type of action (punctiliar, iterative, or repetitive) are indicated by the stem of the verb and by certain affixes. All forms cited in this paper will be singular subject and singular object unless otherwise stated. If the action is on one object repetitively or on more than one object iteratively, the verb will be identified as having the morpheme ITERATIVE, since most verbs have only one form for both of these types of actions.

²I wish to express my deep appreciation to Mary Beck Moser for so graciously providing me with the data used in this paper. The data were collected by Mrs. Moser and her late husband Edward over a period of approximately twenty-five years under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

According to this analysis, the phonemes of Seri are: obstruents /p t k p̥ w s š ʔ x X/ (the symbol f is often used in other literature for the sound p̥); non-obstruent non-syllabics /m n y ʔ/; syllabics /i ii o oo æ ʌ a aa/ (the symbol e will be used in this paper, as in others, to represent the sound æ). The vowels /i/, /ii/, /o/, and /oo/ function as high vowels. The others function as low vowels. One more systematic phoneme is proposed to which I have assigned the symbol Q up to this point. Its peculiar characteristics can be seen by examining the morphophonemic rules in section 3. There are two phonemes which occur in loan words: /ř/ and /l/. The voiced lateral occurs very infrequently in words that are not loanwords, but in these words it is generally being replaced by the voiceless lateral.

The following abbreviations are used:

ca, causative	obj, object
D, diacritic	pl, plural
DF, dependent future	poss, possessive
imp, imperative	ref, referent
intr, intransitive	SCF, subject change future
iter, iterative	TM, tense-mode marker
neg, negative	1, first person
nom, nominalizer	2, second person
	3, third person

A single slash / indicates the end of a clause. A double slash // indicates the end of a sentence.

³Some verbs always use the third person referent morpheme for reasons that are not totally clear.

⁴The morpheme indicating first person direct object in an indicative phrase is the pronoun ?im.

The irregular verb /-ee/ *give* also uses the allomorph /?po-/, the o of which is marked in this case not to delete and not to receive the stress, as notice in i?poée *Give me!*. This form also illustrates the operation of a dative advancement rule in Seri. By this rule the indirect object in the logical structure becomes the direct object of the verb in the surface structure. This rule is obligatory with some verbs if the direct object is not expressed; it is optional with some verbs even if the direct object is expressed; it is apparently always obligatory with the verb /-ee/. Compare the following sentences.

- (a) i?p-áas //
 [(1 obj)=imp]-[give to drink]
Give me (something) to drink!
- (b) χíkkaa k-óoppoo+ pak i?p-áas //
 things nom-[be black] some [(1 obj)=imp]-[give to drink]
Give me some coffee to drink!
- (c) χíkkaa k-óoppoo+ pak ?e ?-áas //
 things nom-[be black] some [1 ref] imp-[give to drink]
Give me some coffee to drink!
- (d) i?p-á-a??iit-im //
 [(1 obj)=imp]-ca-eat-iter
Feed me!
- (e) šíχ šo ?e ?-á-a??iit-im //
 thing a [1 ref] imp-ca-eat-iter
Feed me something!

- (f) tóm k ʔe k-ámxk //
money the [1 ref] imp-bring

Bring me the money!

- (g) tóm k iʔpo-ée //
money the [(1 obj)=imp]-give

Give me the money!

⁵The o of this morpheme is marked [+D] because this o undergoes changes that other o's in similar situations do not.

See my earlier "A Sketch of Seri Verb Morphophonemics" (now under-going revision) in the 1976 Workpapers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota, Vol. 20.

⁶In Seri society, sometimes even greater respect must be shown to the addressee than is conveyed by the inflected future tense form of the verb. Circumlocutions such as "if I were to eat something,," and "perhaps to go is wanted" are used.

⁷The underlying forms of the prefixes are given with these examples, but the verb stems given are intermediate forms.

⁸/mo- -a/ (toward- -move) *come* is an irregular verb.

⁹Most verbs whose stems begin with a short low vowel lose that vowel when the prefix preceding the stem ends in a vowel. The exceptions to this are extremely few. They include /-akkaat/ *swim* (which contrasts with the regular /-akkaat/ *be bitter*), /-as/ *reach for by mistake*, /-askim/ *paddle*, and /-ex+/ *take*. The causative morpheme, which has the allomorphs /-a-/, /-aʔ-/, and /-ak-/, never loses its vowel. In this analysis I have chosen to mark the vowel of the causative morpheme as well as the initial stem vowel of *swim*, etc., with the ad hoc marking [+D] and write the deletion rules in such a way that they refer to any short low vowel that is not marked in this way.

¹⁰/-ee/ *give* is an irregular verb.

¹¹The verb /-aaa+/ is an irregular verb in that its initial stem vowel, although functioning as a short low vowel in deletion rules and in taking this spelling of the morpheme for imperative, deletes after a consonant. Thus the forms $\chi\acute{o}aa+$ (UF= χo -aaa+) *He did as he was ordered to do!* and $t\acute{a}a+$ (UF= t -aaa+) *Did he do as he was ordered to do?*

¹²/-amW/ *hunt* is one of the very few verbs in Seri that can be used transitively or intransitively without using the intransitive marker in the intransitive forms.

¹³/-aom/ *beg* is an irregular verb in that it does not use the intransitive marker in the intransitive form. Instead, the initial vowel of the stem is marked [+D] in the intransitive forms and so does not delete according to the deletion rules as it does in the transitive forms.

¹⁴ /mo- -a/ *come* uses this spelling of the morpheme imperative by ad hoc marking.

¹⁵ /-ii- -e/ *give* is an irregular verb and is distinct from /-ee/.

¹⁶ /-immoos-/ *beg* is one of the very few verbs in Seri that can be used transitively or intransitively without using the intransitive marker in the intransitive form.

¹⁷ /-a-/ *know* is an irregular verb.

THE IMPERATIVE MORPHEME IN SERI

Stephen A. Marlett

0. Introduction
1. Structure and use of the second person imperative
2. Structure and use of the first person imperative
3. Pertinent morphophonemic rules
4. Spelling rule for the second person imperative morpheme
 - 4.1. Zero after first person singular object prefix
 - 4.2. /-k-/ before negative morpheme
 - 4.3. Zero after certain third person referent prefixes
 - 4.4. /-k-/ before certain short low vowels
 - 4.5. /-o-/ (abstract allomorph) before certain intransitive verbs
 - 4.6. /-ʔ-/ elsewhere
5. Spelling rule for the first person imperative morpheme
 - 5.1. /-so-/ before transitive verbs beginning with high vowels
 - 5.2. /-sa-/ before other transitive verbs
 - 5.3. /-ska-/ before intransitive verbs

0. There are several allomorphs of the morpheme indicating second person imperative and several of the morpheme indicating first person imperative in Seri.¹ Since these allomorphs are for the most part suppletive in each case, it is necessary to posit two multi-clause spelling rules to account for them. In this paper I will present evidence for the analysis I have adopted which to the best of my knowledge accounts for all of the second person and first person imperatives in Seri.²

1. The structure of the second person imperative is as follows:

(3 ref) (1 sing obj) imperative (neg) (ca) $\left(\begin{matrix} \text{pass} \\ \text{intr} \end{matrix} \right)$ verb

The morpheme for third person referent in imperatives is spelled /ko-/ when it precedes either a short low vowel or a consonant cluster of which the first consonant is k, ʔ, or a nasal, and /kʷ-/ elsewhere. The surface allomorph /kʷ-/ is derived from the latter by an allophonic rule.³

The morpheme for first person singular direct object in imperatives is spelled /ʔpo-/, the vowel of which often deletes by regular morphophonemic rules.⁴ Second person objects of the imperative are apparently never pronominal in Seri. For example, *Hit yourself!* is ʔipi mɪssoox iʔnɪp; literally, *Hit your own being!*. The third person pronominal direct object of the imperative is expressed by a zero morpheme.

The negative morpheme is /-m-/. The causative morpheme has three suppletive allomorphs: /-a-/, /-aʔ-/, and /-ak-/. The passive morpheme has four suppletive allomorphs: /-ʔ-/, /-aʔ-/, /-po-/, and /-p-/. Discussion of these important morphemes must be reserved for later.

The intransitive marker, used only with the intransitive form of those

verbs that may be used transitively or intransitively is /-o-/.⁵
[+D]

If the direct object is indicated by a noun, the noun precedes the verb as shown in example (1).

- (1) m-óo-pmox ki? k-áššiiχ //
[2 poss]-nom-[gather firewood] the imp-cut

Cut your firewood!

If a first person indirect object is indicated, a referent pronoun immediately precedes the verbs just as in expressions in the indicative mood. This is illustrated in example (2).

- (2) ?áχ pak ?e ?-áas //
water some [1 ref] imp-[give to drink]

Give me some water to drink!

If a third person indirect object is indicated, the third person referent prefix is used and the noun, if expressed, precedes the verb but may either precede or follow the direct object. This is shown in examples (3) and (4).

- (3) šixkám ki? sáaʔa ki? kóo-mxk //
fish the Sarah the [(3 ref)=imp]-take/bring

Take the fish to Sarah!

- (4) sáaŋa ki? ʔáχ pak kw-ʔ-áas //
Sarah the water some [3 ref]-imp-[give to drink]

Give Sarah some water to drink!

The order of direct object and indirect object is also optional in the indicative mood.

As for its usage, the second person imperative is usually repeated if it is not preceded by a clause, adverb or object. The following examples illustrate this.

- (5) k-áttaaχ // k-áttaaχ // á-??iit-im //
imp-go imp-go [imp=intr]-eat-rep

Go! Go! Eat!, i.e., Get eating!

- (6) po-yáam ta / k-áššiiχ //
- DF-[be later] SCF imp-cut

Cut it later!

- (7) mišx ʔ-áai //
well imp-do

Take care of it!

- (8) mos šo ʔ-éχ+ //
again one imp-take

Take another one!

- (9) ʔ-éχ+ // ʔ-éχ+ //
imp-take imp-take

Take it! Take it!

A milder command form consists of the inflected future tense form of the verb, as shown in example (10).⁶

- (10) in-s-éχ+-aʔa //
[2 sub]-fut-take-TM

You should buy it!

2. The structure of the first person imperative is the same as that of the second person imperative. It never has a first person singular object and is always plural.

A special rule is needed to move the negative morpheme to follow the first segment of the first person imperative morpheme. Imperatives that illustrate this are included in section 5.

The use of the first person imperative is similar to the use of the second person imperative except that the first person imperative is not usually repeated.

3. Of the numerous morphophonemic rules proposed for the analysis of Seri verbs, several are particularly pertinent to the analysis of the imperatives. These rules are given below without further explanation. Also included are two allophonic rules--W Coalescence and Nasal/Vowel Coalescence. Unless otherwise indicated, each rule has the word as its domain.

Stress Placement: Unless otherwise marked, stress the first vowel of the verb stem.

Vowel Coalescence

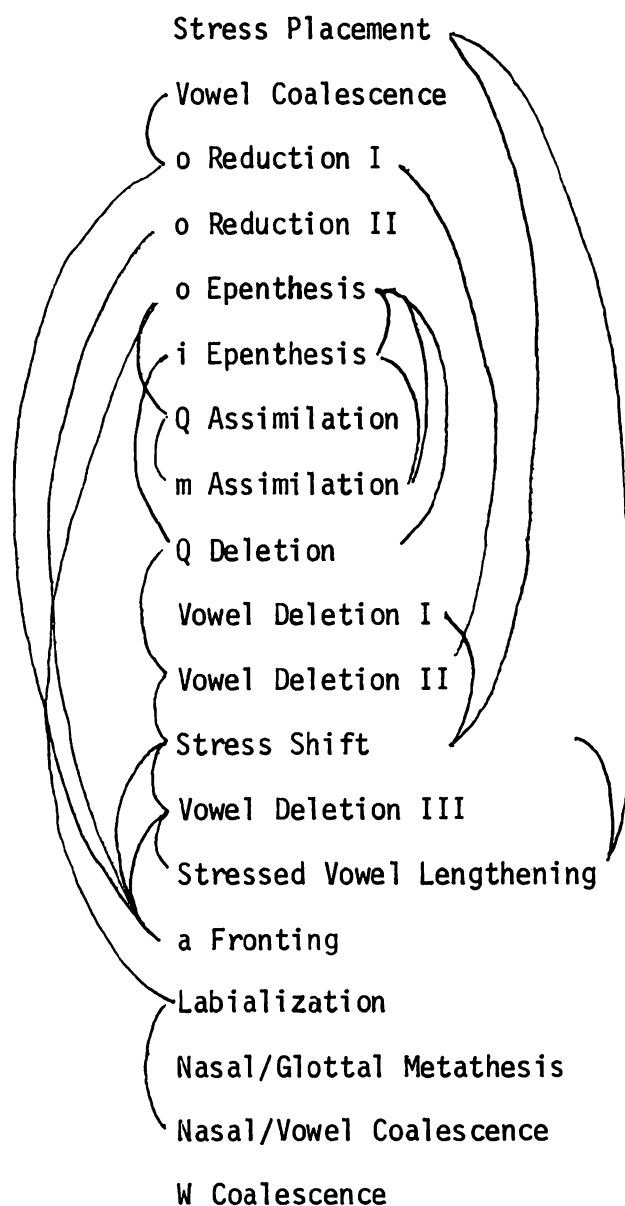
$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -lo \\ +bac \\ +D \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -lo \\ -bac \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +lo \\ -bac \\ -long \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{(the resultant vowel is marked to not undergo Stressed Vowel Lengthening)}$$

- o Reduction I
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \end{matrix} \Rightarrow \begin{matrix} V \\ [+lo] \\ [+bac] \\ [-long] \end{matrix} / \text{the verb is intransitive.}$$

 ~ (the resultant vowel is marked to not undergo Stressed Vowel Lengthening)
- o Reduction II
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \\ [+D] \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [+bac] \end{matrix} \Rightarrow \begin{matrix} V \\ [+lo] \\ [+bac] \\ [-long] \end{matrix}$$
- o Epenthesis
$$\emptyset \rightarrow o / \begin{matrix} C \\ [-nas] \\ [-glot] \\ [-lab] \end{matrix} \text{ --- } \begin{matrix} C \\ [+nas] \end{matrix} C$$
- i Epenthesis
$$\emptyset \rightarrow i / \left\{ \begin{matrix} C\# \\ C \\ [-nas] \\ [-glot] \\ \& \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ --- } \begin{matrix} C \\ [-obs] \\ [+clos] \end{matrix} C \quad (\text{left to right iterative})$$
- Q Assimilation
$$Q \rightarrow \begin{matrix} C \\ [\alpha F] \end{matrix} / \begin{matrix} C \\ [-glot] \\ [\alpha F] \end{matrix} \text{ ---}$$
- m Assimilation
$$\begin{matrix} [+nas] \\ [+lab] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} [-lab] \\ [\alpha acu] \end{matrix} / \begin{matrix} V \\ [-str] \end{matrix} \text{ --- } \begin{matrix} C \\ [-lab] \\ [\alpha acu] \end{matrix} \text{ Pause-bounded}$$
- Q Deletion
$$Q \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ ? \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ ---}$$
- Vowel Deletion I
$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ --- } + \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ [-lo] \\ [-long] \\ V \\ [+D] \end{matrix} \right\}$$
- Vowel Deletion II
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-str] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ --- } + \begin{matrix} V \\ [+long] \end{matrix}$$
- Stress Shift
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \\ 1 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} V \\ 2 \end{matrix} \Rightarrow \begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \\ 1 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} V \\ 2 \end{matrix} / \text{ --- } // \begin{matrix} V \\ 1 \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} V \\ 2 \end{matrix}$$
- Vowel Deletion III
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [-str] \\ [+lo] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \begin{matrix} V \\ [-[+D]] \end{matrix} + \text{ ---}$$
- Stressed Vowel Lengthening
$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+str] \end{matrix} \rightarrow [+long] / \text{ --- } + C$$
- a Fronting
$$a \rightarrow e / \text{ --- } + (C) \begin{matrix} e \\ [-str] \end{matrix}$$

Labialization	$k \rightarrow k^w / \text{---} m$
Nasal/Glottal Metathesis	$m \begin{smallmatrix} ? \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} ? \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{smallmatrix} ? \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} m \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix}$
Nasal/Vowel Coalescence	$m \begin{smallmatrix} V \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \emptyset \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{smallmatrix} V \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix} / k^w \text{---} \text{Pause-bounded}$ [+nas]
W Coalescence	$\begin{smallmatrix} C \\ [+bac] \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} W \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{smallmatrix} C \\ [+bac] \\ [+lab] \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \emptyset / \text{---} [-cns]$

The ordering of these rules is indicated below.



4. The following spelling rule gives the underlying forms of the allomorphs of the morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE.

SECOND PERSON \Rightarrow \emptyset / 1 SING OBJ ____
 IMPERATIVE
 k / ____ NEGATIVE
 \emptyset / 3 REF ____ $\begin{matrix} V \\ [+1o \\ -long \\ -[+D] \end{matrix}$
 k / ____ $\begin{matrix} V \\ [+1o \\ -long \\ -[+D] \end{matrix}$
 o / ____ $\left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ [-1o] \\ [+bac] \\ V \\ [+1o] \end{matrix} \right\}$ and the verb is intransitive
 $?$ / elsewhere

The ordering of the clauses of this spelling rule is crucial. The evidence for and explanation of each clause are presented in the following sections.

4.1. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-Ø-/ when it is preceded by the morpheme FIRST PERSON SINGULAR OBJECT. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form⁷</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
i?póokta	?po-Ø-ookta [1 obj]-imp-[look at]	<i>Look at me!</i>
i?póoktam	?po-Ø-ooktam [1 obj]-imp-[(look at)=pl]	<i>Look (pl.) at me!</i>
i?pomóokta	?po-Ø-m-ookta [1 obj]-imp-neg-[look at]	<i>Don't look at me!</i>
i?pomáxpχ	?po-Ø-m-axpχ [1 obj]-imp-neg-[be mad at]	<i>Don't be mad at me!, i.e., Forgive me!</i>
i?píipxk	?po-Ø-iipxk [1 obj]-imp-wrestle	<i>Wrestle me!</i>
i?pakáitom	?po-Ø-ak-aitom [1 obj]-imp-ca-talk	<i>Interpret for me!</i>
i?póošt	?po-Ø-ašt [1 obj]-imp-tattoo	<i>Tattoo me!</i>
i?pokééex	?po-Ø-keéex [1 obj]-imp-[cut hair]	<i>Cut my hair!</i>
i?posánx	?po-Ø-sanx [1 obj]-imp-[carry on back]	<i>Carry me on your back!</i>
i?posákx	?po-Ø-sakx [1 obj]-imp-[carry on hip]	<i>Carry me on your hip!</i>

Notice the following example which has a first person plural direct object. The form ?aši is the form used in indicative phrases also.

- (11) ?aši ?-óoktam //
[1 pl obj] imp-[(look at)=pl]

Look (pl.) at us!

4.2. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-k-/ when followed by the morpheme NEGATIVE. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kwǽttaax	k-m-attaax imp-neg-go	<i>Don't go!</i>
kontís	k-m-tis imp-neg-point	<i>Don't point at him/it!</i>
kwǽtís	k-m-o-tis imp-neg-intr-point	<i>Don't point!</i>
kwíχW	k-m-iχW imp-neg-jump	<i>Don't jump across it!</i>
kwǽǽχW	k-m-o-iχW imp-neg-intr-jump	<i>Don't jump!</i>
kwǽpmox	k-m-apmox imp-neg-[gather firewood]	<i>Don't gather that firewood!</i>
kwǽǽpmox	k-m-o-apmox imp-neg-intr-[gather firewood]	<i>Don't gather fire- wood!</i>
konkóos	k-m-koos imp-neg-forget	<i>Don't forget it!</i>
konníp	k-m-nip imp-neg-[hit with hand]	<i>Don't hit him/it!</i>
kwǽkáiskan	k-m-ak-aiskan imp-neg-ca-[be hard]	<i>Don't shut it!</i>
kommó+χ	k-m-Qó+χ imp-neg-[argue=pl]	<i>Don't argue (pl.)!</i>
an kokwǽškim	an ko-k-m-aškim in [3 ref]-imp-neg-enter	<i>Don't enter!</i>
kokwíta+?áa	ko-k-m-ita+?áa [3 ref]-imp-neg-exchange	<i>Don't sell it!</i>
mokámma	mo-k-ámma dir-imp-[move=neg]	<i>Don't come!</i>
míissaax ko?méemt ⁸	mi-assaax k-m-?eemt [2 poss]-spirit imp-neg-stink	<i>Don't be mad!</i>

4.3. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-Ø-/ when it is preceded by the morpheme THIRD PERSON REFERENT and followed by an unmarked short low vowel.⁹ Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sáařa ki? kóomxk	sáařa ki? ko-Ø-amxk Sara the [3 ref]-imp-take	<i>Take it to Sara!</i>
an kóoškim	an ko-Ø-aškim in [3 ref]-imp-enter	<i>Come in!</i>
kóokka	ko-Ø-akka [3 ref]-imp-[pour in]	<i>Pour it in!</i>
ʔóʔřa kóottaax	ʔóʔřa ko-attaax donkey [3 ref]-go	<i>Go like a donkey!</i>

The above spelling rule holds true for an undefined group of Seri speakers. Others, and perhaps a majority, apparently do not have the condition in this spelling rule that the short low vowel be unmarked. In other words, the morpheme IMPERATIVE is spelled /-Ø-/ when it is preceded by the morpheme THIRD PERSON REFERENT and followed by any short low vowel. The examples below illustrate the differences in the imperative forms between these groups of speakers. Examples (12) and (13) are formed according to the spelling rule give first above, (12') and (13') according to the second version of that rule. Because the causative morpheme and the first vowel of the verb *believe* are marked vowels (they are marked to not undergo deletion), the speakers who use the forms in (12) and (13) must use the allomorph /-ʔ-/ of the imperative morpheme (described in section 4.6.).

(12) ʔíitom ak kWaʔíiʔx // *Believe (pl.) what I say!*

UF: ʔi-Ø-aitom ak kW-ʔ-aʔíiʔx
[1 poss]-nom-talk the [3 ref]-imp-[believe=pl]

(12') ʔíitom ak kWaʔíiʔx // *Believe (pl.) what I say!*

UF: ʔi-Ø-aitom ak kW-Ø-aʔíiʔx
[1 poss]-nom-talk the [3 ref]-imp-[believe=pl]

(13) kWʔakóoššiixot *Help him cut!*

UF: kW-ʔ-ak-o-aššiix-ot
[3 ref]-imp-ca-intr-cut-ben

(13') kWakóoššiixot *Help him cut!*

UF: kW-Ø-ak-o-aššiix-ot
[3 ref]-imp-ca-intr-cut-ben

4.4. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-k-/ when it is followed by an unmarked short low vowel. If the imperative morpheme is preceded by THIRD PERSON REFERENT, it has already been spelled as indicated in section 4.3. Examples of forms explained by this clause of the spelling rule are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
káttaax	k-attaax imp-go	<i>Go!</i>
káiiito+ka	k-aiiito+ka imp-[eat=pl=iter]	<i>Eat (pl.) them (iter.)!</i>
kée ¹⁰	k-ee imp-give	<i>Give it!</i>
káa+ ¹¹	k-aaa+ imp-[do as ordered]	<i>Do what you have been ordered to do!</i>
kámxk	k-amxk imp-bring	<i>Bring it!</i>
kámw ¹²	k-amw imp-hunt	<i>Hunt it!, or Hunt!</i>
káom ¹³	k-aom imp-beg	<i>Beg for it!</i>
kápxk	k-apxk imp-[wear around neck]	<i>Wear it around your neck!</i>
kápmox	k-apmox imp-[gather firewood]	<i>Gather that firewood!</i>
kémmeen	k-emmeen imp-winnow	<i>Winnow it!</i>
kápxox	k-apxox imp-[blow on]	<i>Blow on it!</i>
kápxo+im	k-apxo+-tim imp-[blow on]-iter	<i>Blow on it/them (iter.)!</i>
kápxo+	k-apxo+ imp-[(blow on)=pl]	<i>Blow (pl.) on it!</i>
kápxo+am	k-apxo+-am imp-[(blow on)=pl]-iter	<i>Blow (pl.) on them (iter.)!</i>
?e káškam	?e k-aškam [1 ref] imp-[come=pl]	<i>Come (pl.) to me!</i>

4.5. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-o-/ when it is followed by either a long or short o, a long low vowel, or a short low vowel that is marked to not delete and the verb is intransitive. This is an abstract morpheme because it either undergoes o Reduction and possible a Fronting subsequently, or else it is deleted by a later rule. These rules are well substantiated by unrelated data. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
áit	o-oit imp-dance	<i>Dance!</i>
axást	o-oxást imp-hop	<i>Hop!</i>
áttii+kox	o-ottii+kox imp-[arise=pl]	<i>Arise (pl.)!</i>
ás	o-oos imp-sing	<i>Sing!</i>
éepχ	o-oepχ imp-flap	<i>Flap!</i>
étteexa	o-otteexa imp-stagger	<i>Stagger!</i>
an kwáiškt	an kW-o-oiškt in [3 ref]-imp-enter	<i>Come in (pl.)!</i>
éenx	o-o-inx imp-intr-shout	<i>Shout!</i>
éenx	o-o-0eenx imp-intr-[play instrument]	<i>Play (instrument)!</i>
a'sánx	o-o-sanx imp-intr-[carry on back]	<i>Carry him on your back!</i>
áp̄mox	o-o-ap̄mox imp-intr-[gather firewood]	<i>Gather firewood!</i>
áap̄šχ	o-aap̄šχ imp-[be fast]	<i>Be fast!</i>
ákkaat	o-akkaat imp-swim	<i>Swim!</i>
áom	o-aom imp-beg	<i>Beg!</i>
áa??iit	o-a-a??iit imp-ca-eat	<i>Fish!</i>

4.6. The morpheme SECOND PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-ʔ-/ elsewhere. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
?itámt	?-i-tamt imp-with-sandal	<i>Put on your sandals!</i>
?í?t	?-i?t imp-hiccough	<i>Hiccough!</i>
?íim	?-iim imp-sleep	<i>Sleep!</i>
kw?íipni	kw-?-íipni [3 ref]-imp-sip	<i>Sip!</i>
?óokta	?-ookta imp-[look at]	<i>Look at it!</i>
?óont	?-oont imp-stir	<i>Stir it!</i>
?áaa	?-aaa imp-call	<i>Call it!</i>
?áai	?-aa i imp-do/make	<i>Do it!, or Make it!</i>
?áašši	?-aašši imp-[carry away]	<i>Carry it away!</i>
?ǎχ kw?áas	?ǎχ kw-?-aas water [3 ref]-imp-[give to drink]	<i>Give him water to drink!</i>
kw?ita+?áa	kw-?-ita+?áa [3 ref]-imp-exchange	<i>Sell it!</i>
?éetteex	?-eetteex imp-peel	<i>Peel it!</i>
?a?óit	?-a?-oit imp-ca-[be blue]	<i>Make it blue!</i>
i?pánšχ	?-panšχ imp-run	<i>Run!</i>
i?píi	?-pii imp-taste	<i>Taste it!</i>
óχ ?apákta	óχ ?-a-po-ookta thus imp-ca-pass-[look at]	<i>Do it like that!</i>

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
iʔmá i	ʔ-ma i imp-[be quiet]	<i>Be quiet!</i>
iʔkómka	ʔ-komka imp-[make noise]	<i>Make noise!</i>
iʔkóoxʰa	ʔ-kooxʰa imp-babysit	<i>Babysit him!</i>
iʔkáa	ʔ-kaa imp-[look for]	<i>Look for it!</i>
iʔšʰók	ʔ-šʰok imp-[hack off]	<i>Hack it off!</i>
iʔxó+kʷ	ʔ-xo+kʷ imp-sip	<i>Sip it!</i>
iʔótš ¹⁴	ʔ-Qotš imp-suck	<i>Suck it!</i>
iʔíššo	ʔ-Qiššo imp-lift	<i>Lift it!</i>
móʔʔa	mo-ʔ-a dir-imp-move	<i>Come here!</i>
kʷʔakóošši iχot	kʷ-ʔ-ak-o-ašši iχ-ot [3 ref]-imp-ca-intr-cut-ben	<i>Help him cut!</i>
koʔxíit	ko-ʔ-xiit [3 ref]-imp-[hit with stone]	<i>Hit him (with a stone)!</i>
koʔmíiit	ko-ʔ-miit [3 ref]-imp-ask	<i>Ask him it!</i>
ʔíiʔʔe ¹⁵	ʔiiʔʔe [imp=give]	<i>Give it!</i>
koʔáχš	ko-ʔ-Qáχš [3 ref]-imp-[hit with stick]	<i>Hit it (with a stick)!</i>

5. The following spelling rule gives the underlying forms of the allomorphs of the morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE.

FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE \Rightarrow so / — V and the verb is transitive
[+D]
[-1o]

sa / — elsewhere and the verb is transitive

ska / elsewhere

The evidence for and explanation of each clause are presented in the following sections.

5.1. The morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-so-/ when it is followed by a transitive verb that begins with a high vowel. Later rules coalesce and sometimes front and/or lengthen the prefix and stem vowels. Examples are given below.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sašít	so-šíit imp-[visit=pl]	<i>Let's visit him!</i>
sáaktam	so-ooktam imp-[(look at)=pl]	<i>Let's look at it!</i>
séee	so-iii imp-[hear=pl]	<i>Let's hear it!</i>
séenneck	so-oonneck imp-[carry=pl]	<i>Let's carry them (several items)!</i>
séemmoosam ¹⁶	so-immoos-am imp-[beg=pl]-iter	<i>Let's beg for it!</i>
smáaktam	so-m-ooktam imp-neg-[(look at)=pl]	<i>Let's not look at it!</i>

5.2. The morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-sa-/ before other transitive verbs. The a of the prefix or stem is deleted by regular morphophonemic rules in many cases.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
sayáat	sa-yaat imp-[own/have=pl]	<i>Let's own/have it!</i>
sakéept	sa-keep imp-[like=pl]	<i>Let's like it!</i>
samístax	sa-mistax imp-[resemble=pl]	<i>Let's resemble it!</i>
saskóoyo	sa-skooyo imp-[smell=pl]	<i>Let's smell it!</i>
sapkóoyo	sa-pkooyo imp-[taste=pl]	<i>Let's taste it!</i>
sásyox	sa-asyox imp-[drink=pl]	<i>Let's drink it!</i>
sáʔt	sa-aʔt imp-[see=pl]	<i>Let's see it!</i>
sáax ¹⁷	sa-aax imp-[know=pl]	<i>Let's know it!</i>
sákwt	sa-akwt imp-[kill=pl]	<i>Let's kill it!</i>
sáiši	sa-aishi imp-[make/do=pl]	<i>Let's do/make it!</i>
sám̃ox	sa-am̃ox imp-[say=pl]	<i>Let's say it!</i>
sássoot	sa-assoot imp-[borrow=pl]	<i>Let's borrow it!</i>
kwsatóos	kW-sa-atóos [3 ref]-imp-[(give to drink)]	<i>Let's give it to him to drink!</i>
sáššiaxk	sa-aššiaxk imp-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's cut it!</i>
smáššiaxk	sa-m-aššiaxk imp-neg-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's not cut it!</i>

5.3. The morpheme FIRST PERSON IMPERATIVE is spelled /-ska-/ before intransitive verbs. The a of the prefix or stem is deleted by regular morphophonemic rules in many cases.

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
skatóii	ska-atóii imp-[cry=pl]	<i>Let's cry!</i>
skatíkpan	ska-atíkpan imp-[work=pl]	<i>Let's work!</i>
skáipt	ska-a-ipt imp-ca-[exchange=pl]	<i>Let's pay!</i>
skítóix	ska-itóix imp-[go=pl]	<i>Let's go...!</i>
skáa+χ	ska-aa+χ imp-[go=pl]	<i>Let's go!</i>
skáato+ka	ska-aato+ka imp-[fight=pl]	<i>Let's fight!</i>
kWskita+ʔáaw	kW-ska-ita+ʔáa [3 ref]-imp-[exchange=pl]	<i>Let's sell!</i>
skáanniipxat	ska-aanniipxat imp-[(go home)=pl]	<i>Let's go home!</i>
skímmoosam ¹⁶	ska-immoos-am imp-[beg=pl]-iter	<i>Let's beg!</i>
ʔant skóii	ʔant ska-oii down imp-[stand=pl]	<i>Let's get down!</i>
skíima	ska-iima imp-[sleep=pl]	<i>Let's sleep!</i>
skóšša	ska-ošša imp-[talk=pl]	<i>Let's talk!</i>
skóiiito+ka	ska-o-aiito+ka imp-intr-[eat=pl]	<i>Let's eat!</i>
skósyox	ska-o-asyox imp-intr-[drink=pl]	<i>Let's drink!</i>
skóoššiaxk	ska-o-aššiaxk imp-intr-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's cut!</i>
skamáix	ska-máix imp-[(be quiet)=pl]	<i>Let's be quiet!</i>

<u>Surface Form</u>	<u>Underlying Form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
skapánkox	ska-pankox imp-[run=pl]	<i>Let's run!</i>
skakáptox	ska-kaptox imp-[fly=pl]	<i>Let's fly!</i>
skakómxox	ska-komxox imp-[(be noisy)=pl]	<i>Let's be noisy!</i>
skamošímtox	ska-mošímtox imp-[(be drunk)=pl]	<i>Let's be drunk!</i>
skaótx	ska-Qotx imp-[argue=pl]	<i>Let's argue!</i>
soŋkóoššiaxk	ska-m-o-aššiaxk imp-neg-intr-[cut=pl]	<i>Let's not cut!</i>
soŋkaótx	ska-m-Qotx imp-neg-[argue=pl]	<i>Let's not argue!</i>
soŋkat íkpan	ska-m-at íkpan imp-neg-[work=pl]	<i>Let's not work!</i>

FOOTNOTES

¹Number of subject person and the type of action (punctiliar, iterative, or repetitive) are indicated by the stem of the verb and by certain affixes. All forms cited in this paper will be singular subject and singular object unless otherwise stated. If the action is on one object repetitively or on more than one object iteratively, the verb will be identified as having the morpheme ITERATIVE, since most verbs have only one form for both of these types of actions.

²I wish to express my deep appreciation to Mary Beck Moser for so graciously providing me with the data used in this paper. The data were collected by Mrs. Moser and her late husband Edward over a period of approximately twenty-five years under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

According to this analysis, the phonemes of Seri are: obstruents /p t k p̣ w s š ʔ x X/ (the symbol f is often used in other literature for the sound p̣); non-obstruent non-syllabics /m n y ʔ/; syllabics /i ii o oo æ æ̣ a aa/ (the symbol e will be used in this paper, as in others, to represent the sound æ̣). The vowels /i/, /ii/, /o/, and /oo/ function as high vowels. The others function as low vowels. One more systematic phoneme is proposed to which I have assigned the symbol Q up to this point. Its peculiar characteristics can be seen by examining the morphophonemic rules in section 3. There are two phonemes which occur in loan words: /ř/ and /l/. The voiced lateral occurs very infrequently in words that are not loanwords, but in these words it is generally being replaced by the voiceless lateral.

The following abbreviations are used:

ca, causative	obj, object
D, diacritic	pl, plural
DF, dependent future	poss, possessive
imp, imperative	ref, referent
intr, intransitive	SCF, subject change future
iter, iterative	TM, tense-mode marker
neg, negative	1, first person
nom, nominalizer	2, second person
	3, third person

A single slash / indicates the end of a clause. A double slash // indicates the end of a sentence.

³Some verbs always use the third person referent morpheme for reasons that are not totally clear.

⁴The morpheme indicating first person direct object in an indicative phrase is the pronoun ?im.

The irregular verb /-ee/ *give* also uses the allomorph /?po-/, the o of which is marked in this case not to delete and not to receive the stress, as notice in i?poée *Give me!*. This form also illustrates the operation of a dative advancement rule in Seri. By this rule the indirect object in the logical structure becomes the direct object of the verb in the surface structure. This rule is obligatory with some verbs if the direct object is not expressed; it is optional with some verbs even if the direct object is expressed; it is apparently always obligatory with the verb /-ee/. Compare the following sentences.

- (a) i?p-áas //
 [(1 obj)=imp]-[give to drink]
Give me (something) to drink!
- (b) χíkkaa k-óoppoo+ pak i?p-áas //
 things nom-[be black] some [(1 obj)=imp]-[give to drink]
Give me some coffee to drink!
- (c) χíkkaa k-óoppoo+ pak ?e ?-áas //
 things nom-[be black] some [1 ref] imp-[give to drink]
Give me some coffee to drink!
- (d) i?p-á-a??iit-im //
 [(1 obj)=imp]-ca-eat-iter
Feed me!
- (e) šíχ šo ?e ?-á-a??iit-im //
 thing a [1 ref] imp-ca-eat-iter
Feed me something!

- (f) tóm k ʔe k-ámxk //
money the [1 ref] imp-bring

Bring me the money!

- (g) tóm k iʔpo-ée //
money the [(1 obj)=imp]-give

Give me the money!

⁵The o of this morpheme is marked [+D] because this o undergoes changes that other o's in similar situations do not.

See my earlier "A Sketch of Seri Verb Morphophonemics" (now undergoing revision) in the 1976 Workpapers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota, Vol. 20.

⁶In Seri society, sometimes even greater respect must be shown to the addressee than is conveyed by the inflected future tense form of the verb. Circumlocutions such as "if I were to eat something,," and "perhaps to go is wanted" are used.

⁷The underlying forms of the prefixes are given with these examples, but the verb stems given are intermediate forms.

⁸/mo- -a/ (toward- -move) *come* is an irregular verb.

⁹Most verbs whose stems begin with a short low vowel lose that vowel when the prefix preceding the stem ends in a vowel. The exceptions to this are extremely few. They include /-akkaat/ *swim* (which contrasts with the regular /-akkaat/ *be bitter*), /-as/ *reach for by mistake*, /-askim/ *paddle*, and /-ex+/ *take*. The causative morpheme, which has the allomorphs /-a-/, /-aʔ-/, and /-ak-/, never loses its vowel. In this analysis I have chosen to mark the vowel of the causative morpheme as well as the initial stem vowel of *swim*, etc., with the ad hoc marking [+D] and write the deletion rules in such a way that they refer to any short low vowel that is not marked in this way.

¹⁰/-ee/ *give* is an irregular verb.

¹¹The verb /-aaa+/ is an irregular verb in that its initial stem vowel, although functioning as a short low vowel in deletion rules and in taking this spelling of the morpheme for imperative, deletes after a consonant. Thus the forms $\chi\acute{o}aa+$ (UF= χo -aaa+) *He did as he was ordered to do!* and $t\acute{a}a+$ (UF= t -aaa+) *Did he do as he was ordered to do?*

¹²/-amW/ *hunt* is one of the very few verbs in Seri that can be used transitively or intransitively without using the intransitive marker in the intransitive forms.

¹³/-aom/ *beg* is an irregular verb in that it does not use the intransitive marker in the intransitive form. Instead, the initial vowel of the stem is marked [+D] in the intransitive forms and so does not delete according to the deletion rules as it does in the transitive forms.

¹⁴ /mo- -a/ *come* uses this spelling of the morpheme imperative by ad hoc marking.

¹⁵ /-ii- -e/ *give* is an irregular verb and is distinct from /-ee/.

¹⁶ /-immoos-/ *beg* is one of the very few verbs in Seri that can be used transitively or intransitively without using the intransitive marker in the intransitive form.

¹⁷ /-a-/ *know* is an irregular verb.